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643 almost complete autonomy in the management of their
101 local affairs. In the remainder, called the Jaintia Hills, which became British in 1835, it has been the wise policy of the Government to maintain the indigenous system of administration through officers named *dolois*, who preside over large areas of country with very little interference. All the British portion of the hills is what is called a "Scheduled District" under Acts XIV and XV of 1874, and legislation which may be inappropriate to the conditions of the people can be, and is, excluded from operation within it. In these circumstances the administration is carried on in a manner well calculated to win the confidence and attachment of the people, who have to bear few of the burdens which press upon the population elsewhere, and, with the peace and protection guaranteed by British rule, are able to develop their institutions upon indigenous lines. It is now more than forty years since any military operations have been necessary within the hills, and the advance of the district in prosperity and civilization during the last half-century has been very striking.

177 The first contact between the British and the
648 inhabitants of the Khasi Hills followed upon the
175 acquisition by the East India Company, in consequence of the grant of the *Dīwānī* of Bengal in 1765, of the district of Sylhet. The Khasis were our neighbours on the north of that district, and to the north-east was the State of Jaintia,* ruled over by a chief of Khasi lineage, whose capital, Jaintiapur, was situated in the plain between the Surma river and the hills. Along this frontier the Khasis, though not averse from trade, and in possession of the quarries which furnished the chief

113 * The previous history of the Khasi State of Jaintia, so far as it can be traced, will be found related in Mr. E. A. Gait's *History of Assam* (1906), pp. 253-262.

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supply of lime to deltaic Bengal, were also known as troublesome marauders, whose raids were a terror to the inhabitants of the plains. Captain R. B. Pemberton, in his Report on the Eastern Frontier (1835), mentions* an attack on Jaintia by a force under Major Henniker in 1774, supposed to have been made in retaliation for aggression by the Raja in Sylhet; and Robert Lindsay, who was Resident and Collector of Sylhet about 1778, has an interesting account of the hill tribes and the Raja of Jaintia in the lively narrative embodied in the "Lives of the Lindsays." † Lindsay, who made a large fortune by working the lime quarries and thus converting into cash the millions of cowries in which the land-revenue of Sylhet was paid, appears to have imagined that the Khasis, whom he calls "a tribe of independent Tartars," were in direct relations with China, and imported thence the silk cloths ‡ which they brought down for sale in the Sylhet markets. A line of forts was established along the foot of the hills to hold the mountaineers in check, and a Regulation, No. 1 of 1799, was passed declaring freedom of trade between them and Sylhet, but prohibiting the supply to them of arms and ammunition, and forbidding any one to pass the Company's frontier towards the hills with arms in his hands.

The outbreak of the first Burma War, in 1824, brought us into closer relations with the Raja of Jaintia, and in April of that year Mr. David Scott, the Governor-General's Agent on the frontier, marched through his territory from Sylhet to Assam, emerging at Raha on the Kalang river, in what is now the Nowgong district. This was the first occasion on which

* P. 211. † Vol. iii., p. 163, 177, &c.

‡ These cloths, which Lindsay calls "*moongadutties*," were really the produce of Assam, and were *dhutis* or waist-cloths of *muga* silk.

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177 Europeans had entered the hill territory of the Khasi
648 tribes, and the account of the march, quoted in
175 Pemberton's Report,* is the earliest authentic information which we possess of the institutions of the Khasi race. Dr. Buchanan-Hamilton, who spent several years at the beginning of the 19th Century in collecting information regarding the people of Eastern India, during which he lived for some time at Goalpara in the Brahmaputra Valley, confused the Khasis with the
[101] Garos, and his descriptions apply only to the latter people. The name Garo, however, is still used by the inhabitants of Kamrup in speaking of their Khasi neighbours to the South, and Hamilton only followed the local usage. In 1826 Mr. David Scott, after the expulsion of the Burmese from Assam and the occupation of that province by the Company, entered the Khasi Hills in order to negotiate for the construction of a road through the territory of the Khasi *Siem* or Chief of Nongkhlāw, which should unite Sylhet with Gauhati. A treaty was concluded with the chief, and the construction of the road began. At Cherrapunji Mr. Scott built for himself a house on the plateau which, two years later, was acquired from the Siem by exchange for land in the plains, as the site of a sanitarium.† Everything seemed to promise well, when the peace was suddenly broken by an attack made, in April 1829, by the people of Nongkhlāw on the survey party engaged in laying out the road, resulting in the massacre of two British officers and between fifty and sixty natives. This led to a general confederacy of

* Pp. 218-220. It appears from p. 219 that Mr. Scott's report is responsible for the erroneous statement (often repeated) that the mountaineers "called by us Cossyahs, denominate themselves Khyee." The second name is in fact the pronunciation current in Sylhet of the word *Khāsi*, *h* being substituted for *s*, and should be written *Khāhi*.

† In Mr. Scott's time it was usual to speak of such a place as a "Sanatary."

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most of the neighbouring chiefs to resist the British, and a long and harassing war, which was not brought to a close till 1833. Cherrapunji then became the headquarters of the Sylhet Light Infantry, whose commandant was placed in political charge of the district, including the former dominions in the hills of the Raja of Jaintia, which he voluntarily relinquished in 1835 on the confiscation of his territory in the plains.

Cherrapunji, celebrated as the place which has the greatest measured rainfall on the globe, became a popular station, and the discovery of coal there, and at several other places in the hills, attracted to it many visitors, some of whom published accounts of the country and people. The first detailed description was apparently that of the Rev. W. Lish, a Baptist missionary, which appeared in a missionary journal in 1838. In 1840 Capt. Fisher, an officer of the Survey Department, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal * an account which showed that the leading characteristics of the Khasi race had already been apprehended; he mentions the prevalence of matriarchy or mother-kinship, notes the absence of polyandry, except in so far as its place was taken by facile divorce, describes the religion as a worship of gods of valleys and hills, draws attention to the system of augury used to ascertain the will of the gods, and gives an account of the remarkable megalithic monuments which everywhere stud the higher plateaus. He also recognizes the fact that the Khasis as a race are totally distinct from the neighbouring hill tribes. In 1841 Mr. W. Robinson, Inspector of Schools in Assam, included an account of the Khasis in a volume on that province which was printed at Calcutta. In 1844 Lieut.

* Vol. ix., pp. 833 sqq.

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Yule (afterwards Sir Henry Yule) published in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society * a much more detailed description of the hills and their inhabitants than had been given by Fisher. This formed the basis of many subsequent descriptions, the best known of which is the attractive account contained in the second volume of Sir Joseph Hooker's *Himalayan Journals* † published in London in 1854. Sir Joseph visited Cherrapunji in June 1850, and stayed in the hills until the middle of the following November.

Meanwhile the Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Mission, originally located at Sylhet, had extended their operations to Cherrapunji, and in 1842 established a branch there. They applied themselves to the study of the Khasi language, for which, after a trial of the Bengali, they resolved to adopt the Roman character. Their system of expressing the sounds of Khasi has since that time continued in use, and after sixty years' prescription it would be difficult to make a change. Their Welsh nationality led them to use the vowel *y* for the obscure sound represented elsewhere in India by a short *a* (the *u* in the English *but*), and for the consonantal *y* to substitute the vowel *i*: *w* is also used as a vowel, but only in diphthongs (*ăw*, *ew*, *iw*, *ow*); in other respects the system agrees fairly well with the standard adopted elsewhere. Primers for the study of the language were printed at Calcutta in 1846 and 1852, and in 1855 appeared the excellent "Introduction to the Khasia language, comprising a grammar, selections for reading, and a Khasi-English vocabulary," of the Rev. W. Pryse. There now exists a somewhat extensive literature in Khasi, both religious and secular. An exhaustive grammar, by the Rev. H. Roberts, was

* Vol. xiii, pp. 613 seq.

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or Mynnār, spoken in the extreme north, and there may be others. A great desideratum for linguistic purposes is a more adequate method of recording sounds, and especially differences of tone, than that adopted for the standard speech, which though sufficient for practical purposes, does not accurately represent either the quantity or the quality of the vowels, and leaves something to be desired as regards the consonants (especially those only faintly sounded or suppressed). These things, no doubt, will come in time. The immense advance which has been made in education by the Khasis during the last half-century has enabled some among them to appreciate the interesting field for exploration and study which their own country and people afford; and there is reason to hope that with European guidance the work of record will progress by the agency of indigenous students.

It remains to summarize briefly the principal distinctive features of this vigorous and sturdy race, who have preserved their independence and their ancestral institutions through many centuries in the face of the attractions offered by the alien forms of culture around them.

In the first place, their social organization presents one of the most perfect examples still surviving of matriarchal institutions, carried out with a logic and thoroughness which, to those accustomed to regard the status and authority of the father as the foundation of society, are exceedingly remarkable. Not only is the mother the head and source, and only bond of union, of the family: in the most primitive part of the hills, the Synteng country, she is the only owner of real property, and through her alone is inheritance transmitted. The father has no kinship with his children, who belong to their mother's clan; what he earns goes

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plains, jealous of their power, brave in action, and have an aversion to falsehood."

Khasis of the interior who have adopted Christianity are generally cleaner in their persons than the non-Christians, and their women dress better than the latter and have an air of self-respect about them. The houses in a Christian village are also far superior, especially where there are resident European missionaries. Khasis who have become Christians often take to religion with much earnestness (witness the recent religious revival in these hills, which is estimated by the Welsh missionaries to have added between 4,000 and 5,000 converts to Christianity), and are model Sabbatarians, it being a pleasing sight to see men, women, and children trooping to church on a Sunday dressed in their best, and with quite the Sunday expression on their faces one sees in England. It is a pleasure to hear the sound of the distant church bell on the hill-side on a Sunday evening, soon to be succeeded by the beautiful Welsh hymn tunes which, when wafted across the valleys, carry one's thoughts far away. The Welsh missionaries have done, and continue to do, an immense amount of good amongst these people. It would be an evil day for the Khasis if anything should occur to arrest the progress of the mission work in the Khasi Hills.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION.

The Khasis inhabit the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, although there are a few Khasi settlers in the neighbouring plains districts. The Census Report of 1901 gives the following figures of Khasi residents in the plains:—

Cachar	333
Sylhet	3,083
Goalpara	4
Kamrup	191
Darrang	10
Nowgong	29
Sibsagar	62
Lakhimpur	22
Lushai Hills..	77
North Cachar	32
Naga Hills	62

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171 Southern Moluccas the placenta is mixed with ashes, placed in
144 a pot, and hung on a tree; a similar custom is observed in Mandeling, on the west coast of Sumatra. This is a custom universally observed amongst the Khasis at births. Teknonomy to some extent prevails amongst some of these Malay tribes as with the Khasis. It will be seen from the above notes that there are some interesting points of affinity between the Khasis and some of the Malay tribes, and if we add that the Khasis are decidedly Malay in appearance, we cannot but wonder whether the Malays have any connection not only with the Mon-Khmér family, but also with the Khasis, with the Ho-Mundas, and with the Naga tribes mentioned by Mr. Peal in his interesting paper published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, already referred to. We will study the strong linguistic affinities between these peoples in the section which deals with language.

M. Aymonier in "Le Cambodge" mentions the matriarchate as having been prevalent apparently amongst the primitive races of Cambodia, and notes that the ancient Chinese writers spoke of Queens in Fou-nan (Cambodia). If the Khmérs were the ancient people of Cambodia, here we have an important landmark in common between them and the Khasis. M. Aymonier goes on to speak of priestesses, and the Cambodian taboo, *tam* or *trenam*, which Mr. Lowis, the Superintendent of Ethnography in Burma, suggests may be akin to the Khasi *sang*.

DRESS.

251 Dress may be divided into two divisions, ancient and modern. It will be convenient to take the former division first. The Khasi males of the interior wear the sleeveless coat or *jymphong*, which is a garment leaving the neck and arms bare, with a fringe at the bottom, and with a row of tassels across
[177] the chest; it is fastened by frogs in front. This coat, however, may be said to be going out of fashion in the Khasi Hills, its place being taken by coats of European pattern in the more civilized centres and by all sorts of nondescript garments in the interior. The sleeveless coat, however, is still worn by many

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this manner, the males earning on an average 8 annas and the females 6 annas a day. Col. Bivar writes that in 1875 the wages for ordinary male labourers were 4 to 8 annas a day, and for females 2½ to 4 annas, so that the wages rates have almost doubled in the last thirty years. Contractors, however, often manage to obtain daily labour at lower rates than those paid by Government. Stonemasons and skilled labourers are able to get higher rates. It is easier to obtain coolies in the Khasi than in the Jaintia Hills, where a large proportion of the population is employed in cultivation. The Khasis are excellent labourers, and cheerful and willing, but they at once resent bad treatment, and are then intractable and hard to manage. Khasis are averse to working in the plains in the hot-weather months.

APICULTURE.

I am indebted to Mr. Rita for the following remarks on apiculture in the Khasi and Jaintia Hills.

There are two kinds of indigenous bees in the Khasi Hills, one domesticated, called *u ngap* (*apis Indica*), and the other *u lyuai*, which is never domesticated, and is very pugnacious; its hives are difficult of access, being always located in very high cliffs. A few hives of a third class of bee are now-a-days to be found in and around the station of Shillong, i.e. the Italian. This bee was imported into the hills by Messrs. Dobbie and Rita, and the species became propagated in the following manner. The bees had been just established in a hive, where they had constructed a brood comb, when the hive was robbed by some Khasis for the sake of the *larvæ* it contained, which they wished to consume as food; but the queen bee escaped and established other colonies, one of which was afterwards captured by Mr. Rita, the others establishing themselves at places in the neighbourhood. The hive used by the Khasis is of a very primitive description. It is usually a hollow piece of wood, about 2½ to 3 ft. in length and 10 or 12 in. in diameter. A small door is placed at each end of the log, one for the bees to go in and out, and the other for the removal of the honey when wanted. The honey-combs are broken and the honey is

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Syntengs plaster the space in front of the house with red earth and cow-dung, this custom being probably a remnant of Hindu influences. The Khasis have some peculiar customs when they build a new house. When the house is completed they perform a ceremony, *kyrpiah-iaka-shain*, when they tie three pieces of dried fish to the ridge pole of the house and then jump up and try to pull them down again. Or they kill a pig, cut a piece of the flesh with the skin attached, and fix it to the ridge pole, and then endeavour to dislodge it. The Syntengs at Nartiang worship *U Biskurem* (Biswakarma) and *Ka Siem Synshar* when a house is completed, two fowls being sacrificed, one to the former, the other to the latter. The feathers of the fowls are affixed to the centre post of the house, which must be of a *diengsning*, a variety of the Khasi oak. The worship of a Hindu god (Biswakarma), the architect of the Hindu gods, alongside the Khasi deity *Ka Siem Synshar*, is interesting, and may be explained by the fact that Nartiang was at one time the summer capital of the kings of Jaintia, who were Hindus latterly and disseminated Hindu customs largely amongst the Syntengs. Mr. Rita says that amongst the Syntengs, a house, the walls of which have been plastered with mud, is a sign that the householder has an enemy. The plastering no doubt is executed as a preventive of fire, arson in these hills being a common form of revenge.

Amongst the Khasis, when a daughter leaves her mother's house and builds a house in the mother's compound, it is considered *seng*, or taboo, for the daughter's house to be built on the right-hand side of the mother's house, it should be built either on the left hand or at the back of the mother's house.

In Nongstoin it is customary to worship a deity called *u Ri Iap* (Khasi, = place), by nailing up branches of the Khasi oak, interspersed with jaw-bones of cattle and the feathers of fowls, to the principal post, which must be of a *diengsning*. The Siem priestess of the Nongkrem State at Smit and the ladies of the Siem family perform a ceremonial dance before a large post of oak in the midst of the Siem priestesses' house on the occasion of the annual goat-killing ceremony. This oak post is furnished according to custom by the *lyngskor*

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or official spokesman of the Siem's Durbar. Another post of oak in this house is furnished by the people of the State.

The houses of the well-to-do Khasis of the present day in Mawkhar and Cherrapunji are built after the modern style with iron roofs, chimneys, glass windows and doors. In Jowai the well-to-do traders have excellent houses of the European pattern, which are as comfortable as many of the European subordinates' quarters in Shillong. Some up-to-date families in Shillong and at Cherra allow themselves muslin curtains and European furniture.

The houses of the Pnar-Wárs are peculiar. The roof, which is thatched with the leaves of a palm called *u tynrieu*, is hog-backed and the eaves come down almost to the ground. There are three rooms in the Wár as in the Khasi house, although called by different names in the Wár dialect. The hearth is in the centre room. The houses are built flush with the ground and are made of bamboos. In the Wár villages of Nongjri and Umniuh there are small houses erected in the compounds of the ordinary dwelling-houses called *ieng kmaid* (spirit houses). In these houses offerings to the spirits of departed family ancestors are placed at intervals, this practice being very similar to the more ancient form of Shintoism. In some Wár villages there are also separate bachelors' quarters. This custom is in accordance with that of the Naga tribes. There is no such custom amongst the Khasi Uplanders. The Wár houses are similar to those of the Pnar Wárs, except that a portion of the house is generally built on a platform, the main house resting on the hill-side and the portion on the platform projecting therefrom, the object being to obtain more space, the area for houses in the village sites being often limited owing to the steepness of the hill-sides.

The Bhoi and Lyngam houses are practically similar, and may be described together. They are generally built on fairly high platforms of bamboo, are frequently 30 to 40 ft. in length, and are divided into various compartments in order to suit the needs of the family. The hearth, which is of earth, is in the centre room. There is a platform at the back of the Lyngam house, and in front of the Bhoi house, used for drying paddy, spreading chillies, &c., and for sitting on when the day's

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(*ki thiar*). The paddy-fields are not manured. The Khasis, when cultivating high lands, select a clayey soil if they can. In the early part of the winter the sods are turned over with the hoe, and they are exposed to the action of the atmosphere for a period of about two months. When the sods are dry, they are placed in piles, which are generally in rows in the fields, and by means of ignited bunches of dry grass within the piles a slow fire is kept up, the piles of sods being gradually reduced to ashes. This is the "paring and burning process" used in England. The ashes so obtained are then carefully raked over the field. Sometimes other manure is also applied, but not when paddy is cultivated. The soil is now fit to receive the seed, either high-land paddy, millet, Job's tears, or other crops, as the case may be. The homestead lands are plentifully manured, and consequently, with attention, produce good crops. They are cultivated with the hoe.

The cultivation of oranges in the southern portion of the district ranks equally in importance with that of the potato in the northern. The orange, which is known in Calcutta as the Chhatak or Sylhet orange, comes from the warm southern slopes of the hills in this district, where it is cultivated on an extensive scale. Although oranges do best when there is considerable heat, they have been known to do well as high as 3,000 ft.; but the usual limit of elevation for the growth of oranges in this district is probably about 1,000 to 1,500 ft. The orange of the Khasi Hills has always been famous for its excellence, and Sir George Birdwood, in his introduction to the "First Letter Book of the East India Company," page 36, refers to the orange and lemon of Garhwál, Sikkim, and Khasia as having been carried by Arab traders into Syria, "whence the Crusaders helped to gradually propagate them throughout Southern Europe." Therefore, whereas the potato was imported, the orange would appear to be indigenous in these hills.

Nurseries.—The seeds are collected and dried by being exposed to the sun. In the spring nurseries are prepared, the ground being thoroughly hoed and the soil pulverized as far as possible. The nursery is walled with stones. The seeds are then sown, a thin top layer of earth being applied. The

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526 certain incantations freely referring to the many faults of the opposite side, and pours water at intervals from the bamboo in front of the target. This business lasts about two hours. Then they exhort the competitors of their respective sides, and the match commences amidst loud shouts. Every time there is a hit there are loud cheers, the competitors leaping high into the air, the umpires muttering their incantations all the while. At the end of each turn the number of hits are counted by representatives of both sides. At the close of the day the side with the greatest number of hits wins the match, the successful party returning home, dancing and shouting. The young women admirers of both sides assemble, and dispense refreshments to the competitors, taking a keen interest in the proceedings withal. Frequently large wagers
525 are made on either side. In the *Khadar Blang* portion of the
526 Nongkrem State as much as Rs. 500 are occasionally wagered on either side. In Jowai the practice is also to bet a lump sum, the amount being raised by subscription from amongst the competitors. More usual bets are, however, about one anna a head. The *nong khang khnam* and the men who prepare the targets receive presents from their respective sides. The Khasi bow carries a considerable distance, an arrow shot over 180 yards being within the personal knowledge of the writer. It is believed that Khasi bows wielded by experts carry up to 200 yards. The average range may be said, however, to be 150 to 180 yards.

524 Yule mentions peg-top spinning amongst Khasi children as
177 being indigenous and not an importation, but Bivar thinks that the game is of foreign introduction. I am, however, inclined to agree with Yule that peg-top spinning is indigenous, inasmuch as this game could not have been copied from the Sylhetis or the Assamese of the plains, who do not indulge in it. As the British had only recently established themselves in the hills when Yule wrote, they would scarcely have had time or opportunity to introduce an English children's game. Khasi
524 children also play a kind of "hop Scotch" (*khyndat mala shito* and *in tiet hile*), and Yule writes, "Another of their recreations is an old acquaintance also, which we are surprised to meet with in the Far East. A very tall, thick bamboo is planted in

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The adoption of a female obviates the family dying out (*iap duh*), which to the Khasi is a very serious matter, inasmuch as there will then be no one qualified to place the bones of its members within the family tomb (*ka ba thep shieng mawbah*), and to perform the requisite funeral ceremonies. Amongst the Khasis no particular ceremonies are performed at the time of adoption; but some of the Syntengs observe a religious ceremony which consists largely of a feast to the clans-folk, at which liquor, rice, dried fish, and ginger are partaken of. Before the feast commences, each clansman is provided with a small gourd (*u klong*) filled with liquor, a little of the latter is then thrown on the ground from the gourd, and the following words are uttered:—

"Oh, God! oh, Lord! oh, ruling king Biskurom, now the *pynrap iing* ceremony is about to be performed, let the ceremony be propitious, and let males and females (of the clan) increase in numbers, so that the clan may become great, and respected, and that intelligent male members may spring up." No such ceremony is, however, observed, it is understood, in the Nartiang and Raliang doloiships.

In the case of a family being *iap duh* (extinct), the family property, according to Khasi custom, passes to the Siem. Therefore it is to the interest of the members of families to adopt a female, when such necessity arises. As there is no religious ceremony which is compulsory to the Khasis on the occasion of an adoption, perhaps we are almost justified in concluding that in former times the adoption custom did not exist, more especially as the Khasis possess a special word, *iap duh*, for describing a family the females of which have all died out; and it is admittedly the custom for the Siem to succeed to the property of such a family. The Synteng custom of *'rap iing* may have been borrowed from the Hindus, when the Rajas of Jaintia became converts to that religion.

TENURE OF LAND AND LAWS REGARDING LAND.

Land in the Khasi Hills proper, i.e. land in the high plateau, is held somewhat differently from land in the Jaintia Hills and

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753 Mr. Jenkins, in his interesting little work on "Life and
796 Work in Khasia," gives a slightly different account of the
826 superstition, in that he states that it is the sick person who
164 is possessed by *ka Taroh*. The above belief is perhaps a
177 Synteng development of the Khasi *thlen* superstition. In
the Jaintia Hills "the small-pox" is believed to be a goddess, and is reverenced accordingly. Syntengs regard it as an honour to have had small-pox, calling the marks left by the disease the "kiss of the goddess"; the more violent the attack and the deeper the marks, the more highly honoured is the person affected. Mr. Jenkins says, "When the goddess has entered a house, and smitten any person or persons with this disease, a trough of clean water is placed outside the door, in order that every one before entering may wash their feet therein, the house being considered sacred." Mr. Rita mentions cases of women washing their hair in water used by a small-pox patient, in order that they may contract the disease, and women have been known actually to bring their little children into the house of a small-pox patient, in order that they may become infected and thus receive the kiss of the goddess. It is possible that the Syntengs, who were for some time under Hindu influences, may in their ignorance have adopted this degraded form of worship of the Hindu goddess, "Sitala Devi," who is adored as a divine mother under different names by Hindus all over India: cf., her name *mari-amman*, or mother of death, in the South of India, and the name Âi, mother, of the Assamese.

In the Khasi Hills the god of small-pox is known under the name of *u Siem ñiang thylliew*. He is not, however, appeased in any way, the people calling on two other spirits, *Thynrei* and *Sapa*, to whom a fowl or a goat is offered.

796 This section cannot be closed without some reference to the
773 household gods of the Syntengs. The legend is that in ancient times there came a woman "from the end of heaven to the borders of the country of *u Truh*" (the country of the plains people at a distance from the foot of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills). The name of the woman was Ka Taben, and she was accompanied by her children. She offered herself to *u Dkhar*, the plains man, as a household goddess, but he rejected her. She then went to the Khasis, who were ploughing their fields,

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

769 211 *Iawbei khynraw*, or *ka Iawbei kpoh* (the grandmother of the family, or branch of the family). It frequently happens that there are two flat table-stones in front of the upright stones, the one on the left being *ka Iawbei tynrai*, or the first ancestress, and the one on the right *ka Iawbei longkpoh*, the grandmother of the branch of the clan to which the memorialists belong, or *ka Iawbei khynraw*, the young grandmother, i.e. the grandmother of the actual family to which the memorialists belong. In olden days it used to be the custom for the clans-[772] people to place offerings of food on the flat table-stones for the shades of the departed ancestors, and this is sometimes the case still; but now it is more frequently the custom to make these offerings in the *iing-seng*, or clan puja-house. The flat table-stones are some 2 to 2½ ft. from the ground, and it is difficult to resist the impression that they were originally sacrificial stones, i.e. that animals or even human beings were actually 773 782 211 sacrificed upon them. In connection with this theory I would refer to the interesting folk-tale about the Kopili river. It is here related that in olden days human victims were sacrificed to the Kopili goddess on the flat table-stone (*maw-kynthei*) at a place called *Iew Ksih*, close to the Kopili river. A careful search has been made for this stone, with the result that a flat table-stone has been found near the above village, where goats are still annually sacrificed to the Kopili. The *doloi* reports that this is an ancient custom. None can remember, however, having heard that human victims were ever sacrificed there. Yet I do not think it at all unlikely that this is the stone, locally called *Mynlep*, which is referred to in the folk-tale. At Jaintiapur and Nartiang, both of which places were the headquarters of the kings of Jaintia, there are very large table-stones. We know for a fact that human sacrifices used to take place at Jaintiapur. Is it possible that human beings were immolated on these table-stones? It would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the solitary folk-tale about the *Iew Ksih* table-stone; but the tale certainly furnishes food for reflection. The Khasis borrowed their [177] religious customs largely from the Synteng inhabitants of 782 Jaintia, and it is possible that they may have obtained the 211 custom of erecting the table-stones from the Syntengs also, 769 and that the latter were originally used for both of them for sacrificing human victims.

1:Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

SECTION VI.

MISCELLANEOUS.

TEKNONOMY.

551 THE Khasis, like the Alfoors of Poso in Celebes, seem to be somewhat reluctant to utter the names of their own immediate relations, and of other people's also. Parents are very frequently called the mother of so and so (the child's name being mentioned), or the father of so and so, cf. *Ka kmi ka Weri, U kpa u Philip*. The actual names of the parents, after falling into desuetude, are often entirely forgotten. The origin of the practice may be that the Khasis, like the Alfoors, were reluctant to mention their parents by name for fear of attracting the notice of evil spirits. The practice of *teknonomy*, however, is not confined to the Khasis or the Alfoors of Celebes (see footnote to page 412 of the "Golden Bough"). The custom is also believed to have been prevalent to some extent not long ago in some parts of Ireland.

797 The advent of the Welsh Missionaries and the partial dis-
● 177 semination of English education has in some cases produced
551 rather peculiar names. I quote some instances:—

U Water Kingdom, Ka Mediterranean Sea, Ka Red Sea; U Shakewell Bones, U Overland, Ka Brindisi, Ka Medina, Ka Mary Jones, U Mission, and Ka India.

KHASI METHOD OF CALCULATING TIME.

805 The Khasis adopt the lunar month, *u bynai*, twelve of which go to the year *ka snem*. They have no system of reckoning cycles, as is the custom with some of the Shan tribes. The following are the names of the months:—

805 *U kylla-lyngkot*, corresponding to January. This month in
132 the Khasi Hills is the coldest in the year. The Khasis turn

1: Gurdon E-4, 5 (no date) 1907 AR7 Khasi AR7

or difference. It is owing to these three different names being used for the same people that there has been so much confusion about Lynngams previously; e.g. at one census they were named *Lynngam*, at another they received the appellation of Garo, and at a third enumeration they were called Khasis. In Section I. the habitat of the Lynngams has been roughly defined. It is impossible to define the Lynngam country exactly, because these people are continually shifting their village sites owing to the exigencies of *jhum* cultivation, which has been described in Section II. Some of the Lynngams preserve a tradition that they originally came from the Kamrup plains. It is interesting that a people, like the Garos in so many respects, should have the same idea as the Garos as to the hills on the south bank of the Brahmaputra not always having been their abode. The Garo legend is that they dwelt for some years in the Goalpara and Kamrup plains after they descended from Thibet, and before they moved to the Garo Hills; and there is unmistakable evidence of their occupation of both districts in the shape of certain Garo villages on both banks of the Brahmaputra for some little distance up the river. If, as I suspect, the Lynngams are an offshoot of the Garos, it is, perhaps, possible that they entered the Khasi Hills much in the same way as the Garos entered the hill district to which they have given their name. The Lynngams are much darker than the Khasis, and possess the Thibeto-Burman type of feature often to a marked degree. It is not extraordinary that they should have adopted some of the Khasi customs, for the Khasis, being the stronger people, would in course of time be bound to influence them in this respect. That the Lynngams observe the matriarchate and erect (some clans) memorial stones is not peculiar, because the Garos, like the Khasis, are also a matriarchal people (to a limited degree), and the custom of erecting memorial stones is not confined to the Khasis, for other hill tribes in Assam observe the practice, e.g. certain Naga tribes and the Mikirs; and the Garos themselves put up carved posts, called *kima*, in honour of the departed. Although there is not much intermarriage between the Khasis and the Lynngams nowadays, perhaps in days gone by there was a mixture of blood, the result being the hybrid race we are now consider-

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

small kilt), and a cap which is peaked in front and which comes down well over the ears, called (*ka tupia shkor*) ear cap. The dress of the Khasi females is somewhat different from that of the Synteng, the former wears a striped cloth tied round the waist, hanging down to the knees, and another cloth, with a fringed border, knotted on both the shoulders to cover the bust and a narrow cloth, called *ka jympien*, to serve the purpose of under-clothing. A cloth knotted in front is also worn like a cloak over shoulders. The Synteng woman wears a cloth smoothed round the body fastened above the bust and drooping down to the ankles. Another cloth is thrown over the shoulders, and crossed in front. Both Khasi and Synteng women wear a cloth tied over the head, called *ka tap mohkhlieh*. Up-to-date Khasi males wear knickerbockers, stockings, and boots, and females chemises. On festive occasions, both Khasis and Syntengs, males and females, wear expensive silks, with earrings of gold or silver. There is a special dancing-dress of elaborate pattern: The women at festivals wear a circlet of silver with a spear-head ornament behind, rising 4 or 5 inches from the back of the head. Large coral beads are much valued, and necklaces of alternate beads of coral and gold, and sometimes of coral alone, are worn by the chiefs and their principal followers. Such necklaces are worn by women also on *gala* occasions. The staple diet of both Khasis and Syntengs is rice and dried fish. They are, however, fond of all kinds of meat, especially pork. Some of the Syntengs abstain from beef, owing no doubt to Hindu influences. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs eat dog, which is partaken of with zest by the Naga and the Garo tribes,—this is owing to the dog being considered by the Khasis to be the friend of man. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs use milk, the latter being thought by them to be an excrement. Neither Khasis nor Syntengs tattoo. The weapons of both Khasis and Syntengs are bows and arrows, swords and shields. The national game of the Khasis is archery, regarding which a detailed description will be found in paragraph 10.

The people live in regular villages on fixed sites which have not changed for generations,—and they appear to be much attached to these sites, where, as a rule, the family tombs are standing. The houses are built in the shape of a shell, the houses being divided into three compartments,—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, where odds and ends, and sometimes fowls, are kept; *nengpei*, or centre room, which is used for cooking and sitting in; and *rumpei*, or inner room, where the people sleep. The houses are low, with grass roofs reaching nearly to the ground, the beams are of hewn timber, the walls are of either planks roughly hewn or of reeds or split bamboos plastered with clay. The Khasis' houses generally have boarded floors raised some feet from the ground level,

8: Gurdon G-3 (no date) 1904 AR7 Khasi AR7

—the *Shyngkup*, or porch, being flush with the ground. The *nengpei*, or centre room, is approached by a flight of steps. There are no windows, except one, which is bored on one side to admit light and air,—this is called the *pongshai*. Both Khasis and Syntengs, like other Indo-Chinese races, are much addicted to gambling, and drinking to excess is a national vice. Christianity has, through the agency of the Welsh Calvinistic Mission, gained a very striking extension, and may be said indeed to be leavening the whole nation. Schools are numerous, and are pretty well attended by girls as well as boys. The Christians, and those who have come under the influence of Christianity, have adopted a high standard of comfort, and their houses resemble English cottages more nearly than the huts with which one is familiar in India.

Agriculture.—The Khasis do not use the plough; they cultivate their fields with a peculiar-shaped hoe, or *mohkhiew*. They cultivate rice in the valleys, the rice being sown broadcast and the fields irrigated often after considerable labour. They also cultivate hill rice on the uplands, which they sow broadcast. The potato, which was introduced into the Khasi Hills by Mr. David Scott about the year 1830,[1] is extensively cultivated and forms one of the principal articles of export. Job's-tears (*Coix lachryma*), several kinds of millet, Indian-corn, the *Sohphlang* (*Flemingia vestita*), are also largely cultivated. The valleys on the southern slopes of the hills have extensive orange groves, the oranges, especially those grown in the neighbourhood of Shella, being famous for their quality. The betel, vine, and areca nut are also largely grown on the southern side of the hills and in the low valleys, these plantations being irrigated by elaborate systems of aqueducts. The leaf of the bay-tree (*Tatyrpad*) is collected, and is exported to the Sylhet plains. The Syntengs differ from the Khasis, in that they make use of the plough. Both Khasis and Syntengs are industrious cultivators, and they possess a certain rough and ready knowledge of the uses of manure. A more detailed description of agriculture in these hills will be given in the monograph.

[1] Khasi and Jaintia Hills Administration Report for 1875-76 by Colonel Bivar.

2. *Matriarchal customs and law of inheritance of property.*—The mother is the head of the house, and is both owner and the custodian of the family property as long as she lives. Males can own no property amongst either Khasis or Syntengs except self-acquired property. On the death of the mother, in the case of the Khasis, the family property passes to the youngest daughter. According to some authorities, however, the property would in practice be divided amongst all the surviving daughters. Failing daughters, the property passes to the youngest niece, and failing a niece, to the youngest female cousin. The same

10: Clarke U-3 (no date)1874 AR7 Khasi AR7

Until the English period, say up to 1828, it does not appear that the Hindoos penetrated much into the Khasi hills; but they did into the Jaintea hills, and I imagine that either themselves or their handicrafts reached as far as Nurtiung. There is a typical large monument of upright slabs at Jainteapore, the capital of the Jaintea plains.

14. The notes for the above account of the stone monuments of the Khasi hills were placed in the hands of Colonel McCulloch (late Governor-General's agent at Muneypoor), and I have availed myself of many suggestions which he has kindly given me in the present paper.

Discussion.

Major Godwin-Austen said, one of the most interesting points of Mr. Clarke's paper is the notice of the separation of the ashes of the men and women of a family, at certain intervals, into separate earthen pots. I may mention that the shape of the cysts is never the same in any one part of the Khasi hills; sometimes they are oblong and above ground, and sometimes they stand on a raised platform. On opening one, in a part of the country long since deserted, I found entire bones, calcined, and ornaments; these are now always taken off the body before cremation, but, evidently, in former times, were burnt with the dead. The distance the Khasis sometimes carry the monumental stones is considerable. I know of blocks of granite that have been taken into the sandstone area nearly four miles. The custom of setting up these stones is fast dying out, and some villages have given it up altogether. It is impossible to say what age some of the monoliths may be; all history of most of them is gone, and the present generation can give no account of them. The custom is one of great antiquity, I think, and there is no reason why some of the stones, now standing, may not be many hundred years old.

Mr. A. L. Lewis said, if he, as a visitor, might be allowed to make a few remarks, he would suggest that there was no reason whatever for connecting the monuments of the Khasis with those of Britain. Mr. Clarke had spoken of stones lying round Stonehenge as showing that the stones composing it had been gathered close at hand; but this was not so, as they had been brought from a distance of some miles, and there were no loose stones lying round Stonehenge, except those which had been placed there by design. That design was found running through all the British circles that he had seen; but it was certainly not found in the Khasi monuments. It was, however, found in the circles in southern India, figured by Colonel Forbes Leslie, which differed, therefore, from the Khasi monuments, and resembled those of Britain. He had pointed this out before the British Association as long ago as 1869, in a paper which would be found printed in full in the Journal of Anthropology, 1870, p. 286, and also in subsequent papers read before the Anthropological Society and Institute, and published in the proceedings.

12: Mukherjee et al. E-4, 5 (1940) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7

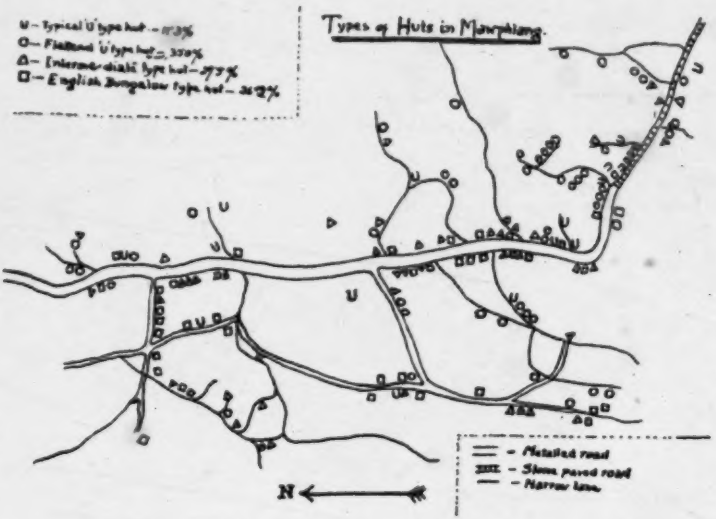
342 huts the ground plan is entirely rectangular. In this type of huts the materials used are also different, the corrugated sheets and wooden planks being more used than blocks of stone and thatching grass. The inner apartments, however, conform to the old plan. In the market place of the village there are some houses which are two-storied, the front of the ground floor of which have been utilised for shops. These houses do not at all conform to the old ' U '-type but are square or rectangular in ground plan. Near the market place there are three houses of well-to-do Khasis which resemble the bungalows of Europeans of Shillong (and of the Mission house at Mawphlang) in their structure and material. In these modern houses unlike the old ones the main door faces the street. The myntr U. Suburai who is one of the well-to-do persons of Mawphlang village has his old house (that is, the old house he put up for his wife after marriage) of the ' U '-type, the description of which has been given in the preceding table under the name of the owner, the wife of U Suburai, Ka Shyrngeh. But their new house which has been added to their old one in front of it is altogether of the bungalow type. This new house is entered from a porch in front, leading to the central room which is used as parlour. The myntri generally sits here with his friends, round the fire-place, which is not a Dypei but a hearth in European style. The kitchen is beyond this room. Bed-rooms open from the drawing room to the sides.

342 177

A plan of the village showing the distribution of the various types of hut in Mawphlang is given below. From the plan it will be found that out of the 160 houses in the village, inhabited at present, the typical 'U'-type of huts form about 11·3 per cent.; the flattened 'U'-type about 35·0 per cent.; the intermediate type, which has totally given up the 'U'-shaped ground plan but has its interior of the old type, about 27·5 per cent. and the English bungalow type about 26·2 per cent. This data shows how rapidly the old type of Khasi hut is now changing.

342 361 177

12: Mukherjee et al. E-4, 5 (1940) 1941 AR7 Khasi AR7


U – Typical 'U' type hut – 17·3%
O – Flattened 'U' type hut – 32·0%
Δ – Intermediate type hut – 37·7%
□ – English Bungalow type hut – 13·0%
Types of Huts in Mawphlang
N
= – Metalled road
= – Stone paved road
— – Narrow lane

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361
177

13: Mukherjee E-5 (1954)1958 AR7 Khasi AR7

596 extended form more often when the children of the deceased sisters of *Ka-khadduh* reside there. This extension is on the mother's side and is affiliated through the extension of mother-child relationship.

Additional members like widower brothers or widowed sisters make the Khasi family a composite one.

In a Khasi family father, mother and her brother are very important. Father who is regard[1] as *Mynder* (stranger) or *Ushong kha* (begetter), has also the position of *Kynrad* (master) of the house (set-up by him). He is the executive head and the mother is the *dejure* owner of the household.

177 178 604 593 [428] Modern conditions and spread of Christianity have greatly affected the Khasi society and changed the Khasi ways of life but have failed to alter the traditional mode of inheritance even among the Christian Khasis. Another important fact which is apparent in the Khasi families, is the change of the status of the mother's brother (*Uknii*) in his sister's house. His influence has greatly been diminished due to clash with *Ka-Khadduh* (heiress). He has almost lost his control over his sister's [562] family. This has made the women exert their status to a danger point. Consequently, some amount of maladjustment in the relationship system, moral depravity and disintegration loom large in the family horizon.

596 613 Family is the core of Khasi social organization and the closeness of familial kin with the members of the sub-clan is due more to the fact that sub-clan owes its development to the family. A *Shi-K'poh* (member of sub-clan) is a secondary relative and can easily be approached for any help.

614 The functions of the above mentioned social groupings are as follows :

Clan (*Ka-Kur*)—It regulates marriage. It being a larger non-residential kin group contact between its members is infrequent. The amount of social participation needed on certain level to intensify the relationship among its members falls far short of. But nevertheless, there existed among the members

614 764

[1] [Should read: regarded.—Analyst]

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Thus, the marriage of a non-heiress and a man of authority also produces an unstable position for the husband in spite of his having an independent household. Therefore, the possibility of a really stable marriage is even more limited; it will occur only in the match of a non-heiress and a non-authority of the *iing*. But even these marriages cannot be free from the influence of a matrilineal social structure: the man of authority of the wife's *iing* may visit these couples now and then, curb the husband's power and remind both partners of the orientation towards the matri-kin, the *iing*, though this pressure is insignificant in comparison with that experienced by the heiress's family. Likewise, a husband now and then visits his youngest sister's house, *ka iing sen*. These constant matrilineal contacts offer husbands chances of escaping from even the slightest matrimonial tension. Whenever a Khasi man feels uneasiness, he will return to his sister's house rather than face a difficult situation with his wife. This tendency is maximised especially on the occasion of religious ceremonies, when all individuals are grouped around each *iing*.

It is apparent that the rules of the *iing* as the underlying structural pattern, function throughout the various categories of domestic unit of the Khasi community as the most important intrinsic force.

VII. Polygyny

After this long attempt at the structural analysis of marriages, I think one can theoretically predict what is the situation of polygyny among the Khasi. The theoretical framework elaborated through preceding discussions can also be tested by the empirical data in terms of polygyny.

Nowadays, the Khasi feel so strongly against polygyny that they have no knowledge even that they ever practised it. Many Khasi, in more sophisticated areas, did not believe my findings on polygyny in Sohkynduh and Kongton. I think this is due to the rapid Christianization of the Hills during the last hundred years. My interpreter, though he was not Christian, said to me in the village, "it is most regrettable to bring you to a village where we find polygyny." However, one of the ministers of the Cherra State to which the two villages belong, told me that there was no particular opposition to polygyny, though recent Christian influence gave people the idea that it was a shameful custom, and he mentioned the case of a polygynist in his area, a man who had recently died, who had had ten wives. In Jatinga whose inhabitants are all Christian, and in Shella where there has been much contact with, and influence by, Hindus, there were

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

Shella

Confederacy forms a more marked endogamous community, through being cut off geographically and economically from the rest of the Khasi, and socially from the neighbouring Hindu people.

The Economy and the People.

Shella lies along the upper part of the Shella River and stretches upwards along the steep slope, looking down towards the Bengal plain. The climate of this part of the hills is considered to be one of the worst in tropical India for human habitation. The Bengal plain, though warmer than this area, is considered more healthy. This border land is the zone of malaria, typhoid, black fever, cholera, etc. None of the Bengalee peasants dare to live in such an area. However, it is the most fertile for products such as betel-nuts, pan-leaves, oranges, bananas and pineapples, and it also produces limestone. These people seem to prefer to settle in this zone and to enjoy its prosperity, at the expense of human lives: every year, especially between March and September, the inhabitants suffer from various fevers and dysentry and other diseaes, many of the weaker facing death.

Before the Partition of India and Pakistan, the products of Shella were carried down the Shella River to Sylhet, one of the biggest centres in East Bengal, which brought unimaginable wealth to the Shella people. Their houses were built by carpenters from Sylhet. The style and structure of these houses were exceptionally elaborate for the Khasi. They purchased vast rice fields in the plain, which used to be cultivated by Bengalee and Garo labourers engaged by them. These Khasi do not themselves know how to cultivate rice fields; they have always been managers or landowners. Their boys used to be sent to high schools and colleges in Sylhet. As a result of their trading with the Bengalee, many of them read and speak fluent Bengalee. There is no difference between their style of clothing and that of the Bengalee, though the women maintain their traditional dress in the Shella style.

They have thus been distinguished from the rest of the Khasi not only geographically, but also economically and culturally. Their personality also differs sharply from the rest of the Khasi. They are very sociable, and quick, a quality lacking among the Khasi of Sohkynduh and Kongton. They are clever enough to deal with strangers. The upland Khasi say Shella people are very cunning. This remark shows one side of these people. They had to be cunning, since they traded with the Sylhet Bengalee who were said to be the most cunning of their race. Their role in the trade and in the history of the modernization of the Hills was considerable. For centuries they represented intellectual Khasi owing to their contact with Hindu civilization, while the Hills remained in darkness. They assumed an important role when the British established an administration in the Hills, and even up to now, many leading Khasi originated from this area: for instance, Lati Hat, the first interpreter of the British Headquarters at Cherrapunjee; Jeebon Roy, who was the first Magistrate among the Khasi; Maham Sing, a lawyer and Member of the Legislative Assembly (the grandson of Jeebon Roy); Nichols Roy, Minister of Health and Prisons of the Assam Government, Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Missionary of the Church of God; R. R. Thomas (brother of Nichols Roy), Principal of the Gauhati University, etc.

Through constant cultural contact with Hindu, and encouraged by their economic prosperity, the Shella Khasi, like the Jaintias, have been much influenced by Hindu culture. However, this does not mean that the people of Shella adopted the Hindu beliefs. Though there is a small Hindu shrine, and some ceremonial elements were borrowed from the Hindu, most of the

15: Nakane E-5 (1955-1956) 1967 AR7 Khasi AR7

177 people remained non-Hindu in their basic beliefs and social customs. Hindu
648 influences are nevertheless predominant in their culture, especially in their way
771 of living which shows a practical adaptability, somewhat similar to the Japanese
795 acceptance of modern western culture without becoming Christian. In my census of Shella village, the people calling themselves 'Hindu' amount to 40 per cent of the total, but they are the recent converts to the Ramakrishna School [797] which established a missionary station at Shella after the Partition. The [162] Christians constitute 30 per cent of the total, most of them having been converted during the last ten years, as in the case of the Ramachrishna School.[1] [458] The rest remain as they were, of Khasi belief. These conversions to either Ramachrishna or Christianity seem to have been encouraged by the unstable situation of the people resulting from the recent economic depression in this area.

439 The Partition of India and Pakistan in August 1947, which drew the bor-
458 derline a few miles south of Shella village, considerably upset village economy
648 by stopping all trade with Bengal, though a limited amount of trade is allowed with local people at the border. Because of this political change, all the produce of Shella gardens is rotting away for lack of markets, while all of the rice fields were taken by Pakistan. Goods now come to Shella only from the uplands, carried upon men's shoulders over the most difficult pass, which makes everything very expensive. Many families have sold their gold and other treasures, and some families are facing starvation.[2]

182 Concerning the conversion to a new religion, an interesting phenomenon
171 is to be observed. The conversion to Christianity or to Ramakrishna is mostly
592 by individual: I found in my census that the wife and husband often belong to different religions. This is a very different picture from the Garo, among whom
613 I always found that the husband and wife belonged to the same religion: the conversion of the husband to Christianity was always followed by that of the
771 wife. I think this reflects the structural differences which influence the actual relationship between the husband and wife. Among these Khasi, instead of
795 the husband and wife, the maternal uncle and his nephews and nieces are mostly of the same religion. The function of the *iing*, the most important social and religious unit, thus appears also in the conversion to a new religion, stronger than that of a domestic unit.

Intermarriage.

648 The close economic and cultural contact of the Shella people and the Bengalee
771 is not matched by social contact. The essential barrier between the two peoples is the difference of religion which dominates the entire social order in each
563 society. Though these Khasi were important traders, richer than the neighbouring Hindu peasants, they were considered by the Hindu as outcasts with whom they never shared social activities. Intermarriages were therefore very rare. In Shella village, only two exceptional cases were found in my census:

1. A Khasi woman married to a Gurka (cattle-keeper); they live at Shella Bazaar (Sholap).
2. A Khasi woman h[illegible] marital relation with a Bengalee medical doctor who has resided at Disong in Shella for six years. He already has a Bengalee

1. These two entirely different missionary activities are competing with each other, and are somewhat related to the political powers within this area.
2. The state government is doing its best to provide them with additional facilities: for example, providing air transport for the transportation of oranges from Shella to Gauhati and Calcutta. However, such arrangements cannot cover the great economic loss suffered by the Shella people.

thereafter, the British negotiated treaties with all the Khasi states, the last treaty being signed in 1862. It was contracted that the chiefs would be subject to the authority of a resident political agent, whose duties would involve maintaining law and order, judging cases of heinous crimes, approving the popular selection of any new chief, and exercising control over certain categories of natural resources. Khasis were guaranteed noninterference in their customary way of life, and they were not then, nor are they now, taxed. Most Khasis, as opposed to Jaintias, were never an integral part of British India, but they did undergo social change as a result of British presence. To summarize Mills (n.d.): (1) The British introduced the potato, which the Khasis rapidly took up as a cash crop for marketing as far as Calcutta. The intensive specialization exhausted the soil and made for ever-poorer crops. (2) Christian missionaries made large numbers of converts, and there arose the difficult question of whether a Christian should inherit property that traditionally was earmarked for her performance of non-Christian religious rituals. (3) About 1864 the British transferred their headquarters from Cherrapunji to Shillong. When they made Shillong the capital of the entire state of Assam, non-Khasis flocked to it, land values soared, and the concept of private property became increasingly important. Khasis began to marry with members of other ethnic groups, which introduced confusion into traditional social patterns. These problems were exacerbated during World War II, when Shillong and its environs enjoyed enormous economic prosperity. One notable aftermath of this affluence has been the accelerated enrollments in schools and colleges. Hundreds of Khasis now have the B.A., M.A., and even the Ph.D. degree. • With the Independence of India in 1947, and under the Sixth Schedule of the Constitution of India (which was drafted by a Khasi), the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills District became a Part B, or Autonomous, Tribal Area, to be governed by a District Council composed largely of Khasis and Jaintias, and responsible not to the Legislature of Assam, but to the Governor of Assam as agent of the President of India. The native-state system and the chiefs still exist, and the District Council finds it difficult to effect legislation which is neither offensive to regional custom nor a simple blueprint of ill-fitting all-India legislation. The major political schism at this time is between Jaintias, who are accustomed to centralized authority and taxation, and Khasis, who resist the notion of taxation to support the work of a central District Council. [Cf. Gait 1938, Aitchison 1931, Bhuyan 1949, Morris 1910.]

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND HOUSING. Settlement pattern. Khasis live sedentarily in named, nucleated, and unplanned villages which are situated just below hill summits to avoid strong winds but still be defensible, and which usually include a de-

potable water supply. Villages are about two to five miles apart, and have no boundary markers. In the past, villages contained semipublic buildings and grounds: the house of the village priest (also the house of a chief if he resided in that village), the village marketplace, and tree groves, cremation grounds, or other awesome spots that were believed to be inhabited by supernatural beings. Villages today may have also one or more Christian churches, government social welfare buildings, and schools. Formerly, villages were entered through a guarded gateway; this is no longer the case, and paths feed into villages from all directions. Often several villages are nucleated into one large unit, named and also described as a "village." These were once defense units, but were so unicohesive otherwise that institutionalized rivalry obtained among the component villages. Now, they have been integrated through the agency of all-village public services, especially schools. **Housing.** The traditional Khasi house is entered through a door at the rounded end of a U-shaped ground plan, and is about 20 feet at widest extent; it is about 30 feet deep, and is elliptical or hogback in profile. Its walls are of stone blocks cemented with mud. The roof of grass thatch, supported by a bamboo frame, overhangs the walls on their outside, down to about three feet above the ground. The house is divided into two parts: the front one-third is on the ground level, floored either with stone blocks or tamped earth, and is used for storage of occupational instruments and as a shelter for poultry. The rear two-thirds is raised four feet on piles of stone blocks to a platform of planks, and is partitioned into six rooms, comprising a kitchen, areas for storage of food and water, and sleeping quarters. Furniture is minimal, and the house is totally undecorated. There are no windows, and no smoke vents. A house generally has a companion shed, walled of wood and grass matting and thatched with grass. This serves as a pigsty, but it may be partitioned also to house cows, and it may have a loft for fuel storage. Compounds often contain garden plots, and are fenced around with stone or bamboo and mud. Nowadays, the traditional house has given way to Western-style bungalows of wood and tin, especially in and around Shillong. [Cf. Mukherjee et al. 1941.]

ECONOMY. The Khasi economy is a market economy based on agriculture, and most Khasis are primary producers, sellers, middlemen, and/or providers of services in connection with markets. Khasis are often multioccupational: they produce goods for partial subsistence, and also play some part in trade. **Agriculture.** On the Shillong plateau, the major field crops are potatoes, maize, millets, and dry rice, still produced mostly through swidden farming, with a two- to three-year period of fallow, but increasingly through continuous use of a single field with the aid of ma-

manure and chemical fertilizers. Both level land and hillsides are cultivated by the same hand techniques. 1 × 6-foot patches are fashioned with walkways between, soils are overturned within the patches and allowed to dry, the soils are burned slowly and the ashes spread over the soil, and finally the seed is sown, either broadcast or with the aid of the typical Khasi hoe. The coldest part of the upland enjoys a two-crop year, and Khasis often double crop as well. Paddy has long been found in the lowlands, in parts of Jaintia and Khasi, the only places where the plow is found. Nowadays paddy is more and more seen in the uplands, together with a simple terracing and irrigation technology. Many upland Khasis have home gardens in which they raise a wide variety of vegetables, including pumpkins, cabbage, radishes, sweet potatoes, eggplant, and many others. Important crops in Khasi country are paddy rice, lac, cassavas, cotton, bananas, and pineapples. In War, they are betel nut, pan leaf, oranges, and sugar cane. Fishing and hunting. Fishing is of extensive activity only in the southern foothills. Hunting was formerly by bow and arrow or by traps, including spring guns and pitfalls, but was always primarily a sport. [Cf. Stagmiller 1925.] Gathering. Khasis once gathered about 150 species of wild plants, most of them for food, but some for medicine. Thirty villagers still gather food plants, but there is no real dependence on gathering. Medicinal plants continue to be very important. Domestic animals. Fowl, goats, pigs, and cattle are bred both for meat and sacrifice. Milk was formerly not utilized, but is now so popular that specialists keep herds of milch cows. Pigs are used as village scavengers, but some also receive prepared food. Cattle and goats forage freely in the fields during the winter, but are herded by a communally hired herdsboy during the agricultural season. Most households keep chickens, primarily for their eggs, and a few keep ducks. A few horses are also seen. Dogs are partials, except for hunting dogs. Cats are popular. Food and stimulants. The staple food of Khasis is boiled rice, together with the dried fish which is imported from Sylhet. Boiled beef, pork, and chicken are relished, but beyond the means of most. Meals are taken twice a day, in the morning and evening, although farmers also take a midday meal in the field, and others may take tea and cold sweet potatoes or rice bread. Certain foods are taboo to certain clan. Stimulants are extremely common, especially betel nut, which is often accompanied by a bit of tobacco. Tobacco is also smoked as cigarettes and in hookah and other pipes. Every village has one or more household taverns where distilled rice whisky is smoked and sold by the glass and by the bottle. Imported spirits had spread widely in the malarious Khasi country, but controls instituted in the 1940s have been fairly successful. All stimulants were once taken by men, women, and

241 243 [illegible] 244 [illegible] 224 222 [278] 231 [2.34] [2.35] [2.35] 262 244 [illegible] 276 275 [illegible] 276 177

16. McCormack E-4,1 (1910-1910) 1964
[P. 108 B] AR? Khasi AR?

children, but Christian influence has weakened or driven underground the consumption by women and children. Industrial arts. The only industrial arts so universally practiced in all households were a rude wooden carpentry and a simple utilitarian basketry. Other arts were few, and were practiced as village specialties: the working and smelting of iron ore and the forging of hoes, dahs, knives, swords, and cooking pots (upland Khasi); the spinning of cotton thread (Mawlai village, Jaintia); the dyeing of cotton thread and the weaving of cloth (Jaintia, Khasi, Lyngngam, War); the spinning and weaving of Eri silk (Khyrwang and Nongkrem villages, Khasi and Jaintia); and the local manufacture, without wheel, of pointed earthenware pots (Laitsu village, Jaintia). Housewifery and the production of cotton goods have nearly died out through the competition of machine-made goods. Carpentry has greatly improved, the innovation of major importance is the sawing and planing, on sawing machines, of ready-made parts for both posts [Cf. Dyrsch 1888, C. W. Hill, Trade. Khasi villages normally contain a number of household shops operated by women. Every Khasi

[illegible] village has a rotating festival of several village markets that are held on successive days of the eight-day week. The hosts of market assistants for the members of any particular village can be roughly distinguished by their naming the days of their week, which are called after the active markets. The exception is the huge market at Shillong, much of which is active daily, and which serves as a magnet for Khasis from all over the hills. The traditional barter has given way to currency in all markets. The small rural centers at least some local farm produce, plus other essentials like betel nut, and the local rice mills which serve as centers of social intercourse. The big markets contain not only regional products and manufactures but also products from distant parts of the hills, brought for sale by traveling middlemen. There is also substantial trade from the hills to the valleys, in potatoes, pears, betel, tea, cotton, cane, cheese, the wood of the sal tree, Eri silk thread, limestone, coal, ropes, tea leaf, betel nut, pan leaves, bananas, sugar cane, oranges, til, turmeric, and chillies. From the plains to the hills, there is trade in dried fish, paddy rice, salt, cooking oil, kerosene, matches, tea, sugar, wheat flour, machine-made cloth, shoes, metal pots, ornaments, porcelain objects, coral beads, silver, and gold. Markets are important not only as economic institutions but also as centers for communication (including archaic competitions), courtship, affirmation of kinship ties with distant relatives, and the dissemination of information of all kinds. [Cf. Gregorius 1894.] Division of labor. Men do the heavy work, such as clearing and burning the work-area fields, caring for cattle and goats and driving them to market, butchering and selling large cuts of beef and pork, carpentry and sawing, and driving and laboring on motor vehicles. They also tend men's

16: McCormack E-4,5 (1956-1958) 1964
[P 110B] AR7 Khasi AR7

another. In other words, a state is not a fixed territorial entity. In the early twentieth century, the most populous of the 25 chiefdoms, Khyrim, contained 30,833 persons occupying 7,800 houses in 372 villages, and the least populous, Nongkrel, contained 240 persons occupying 53 houses in 3 villages. Fifteen of the chiefdoms were headed by a *siem* (chief), three by a *lyngdoh* (priest), six by a *sirdar*, and one by a *wahadadar*. These leaders all had executive and judicial functions, but a chief's authority was limited in that he had to obtain the approval of his executive council before acting. The other leaders were subject to a similar limitation. A chief maintained a small police force. His major sources of revenue were market tolls, fines, and, more recently, income from licenses to distill raw whisky. Succession to a ruling role in the larger states traditionally involved election by members of a lineage that had a hereditary right to elect, from among members of a lineage that had the hereditary right to rule. In British times, the elective basis was broadened, differentially in the various states, even to the point of popular

stratification. The three classes of lineage are the nobles, the commoners, and the slaves or servants. This stratification applies only to the recruitment to office in the native-state system, for there is no hypergamy, and in a village assembly everyone has equal voice. The noble lineages have the hereditary right to fill from among their male members roles such as village or state priest, councilor to a chief, or elector of a chief. The few lineages which today are remembered as slave or servant lineages had the inherited obligation to render special services to a chief's household. There is no Khasi term for "commoner." Every lineage other than a noble or a slave lineage is a commoner lineage, and the commoner lineages are in the majority. **Warfare.** Warfare was suppressed by the British, and little is known for certain about its traditional forms. The tactics which confronted the British were the ambush and the guerrilla raid. Traditional goals included taking heads from other Khasis and capturing women from the valleys.

RELIGION. **Major and indigenous religions.** A Welsh Calvinistic Methodist missionary penetrated into Cherrapunji in 1832, and the work that he began continues to this day. His society, which has since become the Welsh Presbyterian Foreign Mission, introduced writing, village primary schools, a high school, a theological seminary, and a hospital. Competing missionaries followed, and by 1914 some thirty Khasis were presiding over the twenty-one subdivisions of traditional Hinduism and Islam but also of the Buddhists, Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj, and Unitarians (Rev 1914). By the 1930s missionaries of the Church of God and the Seventh Day Adventists were

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

The forest administration of the British Government is confined to two plantations in the neighbourhood of Shillong, for which a rent is payable in perpetuity. One of these, on the farther side of the Umkra, was originally acquired in 1871-72 for the sake of experiments in arboriculture. The rent of Rs. 50, or £5, is paid by the Forest Department; the area had been at first estimated at 580 acres, but an actual survey undertaken in 1875-76 reduced this estimate to 262·59 acres. A considerable portion is covered with Pinus Kasia, which is carefully protected. Of the exotic trees tried on this plantation, only the three following can be said to have done well: *Juglans regia*, *Eucalyptus resinifera*, and *Pinus maritima*. All the rest either suffered from frost in the winter, or required far more nursing than can be afforded them in forest plantations. The young trees of the indigenous oak (Quercus serrata) were also attacked by rats, who bit off great numbers just above the ground. The Spanish chestnuts did not thrive, and were removed to the model farm for trial at a higher elevation. The second plantation, on the northern slopes of the range immediately behind the Station, consists of several patches of forest, which were acquired in connection with the scheme for providing Shillong with a permanent water supply. The total rent is Rs. 375, or £37, 10s., paid from Town Improvement Funds; and the aggregate area is estimated at 796 acres. All the fields within this area that had formerly been cultivated by the Khásis—about 80 acres in all—were sown by the Forest Department with Pinus Kasia, Quercus Griffithii, Q. serrata, and Q. fenestrata, which have succeeded well; and about 8 acres were planted with different species of Eucalyptus. Up to the close of 1875-76 the sum expended on the first of these two plantations was Rs. 742. 9. 9, or £74. 5s. 3d., and on the second, Rs. 730. 9. 6, or £73. 1s. 9d.

A cinchona plantation was started in 1867 by the Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanical Gardens. It consists of twelve small patches of plants near Nongkhao, and one near Jirang, situated at elevations varying from 3500 feet to 2000 feet. The species cultivated are Cinchona succirubra, C. officinalis, and C. micrantha. At first they were under the charge of two Khási gardeners, who each received Rs. 16 a month, or £19. 4s. a year, to weed them and keep fires out. In 1874-75 these plantations were taken charge of by the Forest Department, and specimens of the cinchona bark were submitted for analysis to the Government Quinologist

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

generally the gathering does not extend beyond January. As a rule, the cultivation is confined to the valleys and slopes on the southern face of the hills. (2) Pine-apples are also largely cultivated on the southern slopes, and grow to great perfection on the limestone formation. The fruit ripens in May or June, and is exported in considerable quantities. In 1876-77 the export of pine-apples was valued at Rs. 8000 or £800. (3) Potatoes are extensively grown on slopes of high land, and also in the low-lying fields where the land is well drained. The tuber was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. The season for sowing commences about the middle of February when the rains set in early, and in April when they are late. The ground is dug up and carefully manured with burnt earth, and holes are dug about nine inches deep, and the same distance from each other. These holes are then partially filled in with loose earth, and a potato or two halves of one placed in each. They are then filled up with dry manure and soil. When the plant is fifteen or twenty days old, the ground about the roots is loosened and the plant earthed up, and the land is kept carefully weeded. In about four months after sowing, the crop is gathered. During the cold weather a second crop is raised, the seeds being planted in September and the tubers dug up in December. Potato cultivation has largely increased of late years in the District. In 1876-77 the exports were approximately estimated at 200,500 *maunds*, or 7480 tons, valued at Rs. 501,250 or £50,125, at the rate of Rs. 2. 8 per *maund*, or £7 per ton. (4) Sugar-cane is grown, but not to any great extent; cuttings are planted in March, and the cane ripens by November or December. (5) *Pán* is extensively cultivated, the runner being trained up trees standing in deep and shady valleys. Planting is carried on during the months of April and May, but the leaves are not fit to be gathered till the plant is two years old. (6) The *supári* or betel-nut (Areca catechu), called *u-kwai* by the Khásiás, is grown on the lower southern slopes of the hills, and, together with the *pán* leaf, is consumed in immoderate quantities by the inhabitants, who measure distance by the number of *páns* consumed on a journey. It is also exported to the plains. (7) *U-sak-phlang*, a root crop resembling a small turnip, is sown on high lands in April and gathered in September. It is a poor vegetable, but the natives of the Hills are fond of it, and eat it either raw or cooked. (8) Cotton is grown on high lands and

245 244 [439] [177] [439] 249 244 000

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR 7 Khasi AR 7

extent of waste land, some is cultivated in a manner resembling the *jûm* system,—successive crops are grown on a patch of land till the soil is exhausted, and then another spot is selected, where the same process is repeated afresh, but without anything that can be called a *jûmid* tenure. Any renting of land is exceptional, and there are no recognised rates of rent. The Deputy-Commissioner, however, states that an ordinary rate for rented land would be from two to three shillings a year for as much land as an individual can cultivate with his own hands.

MANURE is generally used in raising rice and potatoes. It is seldom purchased, the dung and litter of the cattle and other animals about the house being generally utilized for the purpose. For rice fields a little less than half a ton of manure, but for potatoes upwards of two tons, is required per acre. Manure, if purchased, would cost from 2s. 7½d. to 3s. 9d. per acre for rice land, and for potato fields from 12s. to 18s. per acre.

IRRIGATION for agricultural purposes is regularly practised. Water is brought to the land by means of channels cut from the numerous hill streams in the neighbourhood of the fields. Wells and tanks are unknown. The work of irrigation by means of these channels is very easily carried on, and at a very trifling outlay. Rotation of crops is not practised in the Hills.

MODEL FARM.—The Shillong Model Farm, established in 1873, has not proved a success. Experiments tried with wheat give some hope that cold-weather crops may profitably be introduced into the Hills. Two new varieties of potato—'red roughs' and 'pheasant's eye'—were successfully introduced in 1873-74; but these are not looked upon favourably by the Khásiás, as they only give one crop in the year, whereas the ordinary variety yields two crops. Several fruit-trees have been planted out, including apple, pear, cherry, nectarine, and plum; and the tables of the European residents are supplied with vegetables from the garden attached to the farm. A *Manual of Potato Cultivation* compiled by the superintendent has been translated into Assamese, and copies have been distributed among the adjoining Hill tribes. The general failure in all the agricultural experiments is attributed partly to the unfitness of the soil, and still more to the ravages of white ants and other insects peculiar to the Hills. The attempts to improve the indigenous breeds of live stock have been equally unfortunate. During the two years 1874-76 the sum of Rs. 1744

20: Hunter G-4 (no date) 1897 AR7 Khasi AR7

ESTIMATE OF EXPORTS FROM THE KHASI AND JAINTIA HILLS FOR THE YEAR 1876-77.

ARTICLES.	RATES OF VALUATION.	WEIGHT OR NUMBER.	VALUE.
	Rs.		Rs.
Tejpát or bay leaves,	2. 8 per *maund.*	26,000 *maunds.*	65,000
Betel-nuts and *pán* leaves,	...	...	95,600
Black pepper,	1. 8 per *maund.*	500 ,,	9,000
Boats,	...	...	7,000
Cinnamon,	4. 0 per *maund.*	900 ,,	3,600
Chillies,	8. 0 ,,	2,600 ,,	20,800
Cotton,	6. 0 ,,	36,000 ,,	216,000
Fruits (jack and lime),	...	...	2,600
Garlic,	...	...	3,100
Hides,	...	...	1,200
Honey,	15. 0 per *maund.*	330 ,,	4,950
India-rubber,	40. 0 ,,	200 ,,	8,000
Iron implements,	...	...	7,000
Limestone,	300. 0 per 1000 *maunds.*	1,600,000 ,,	480,000
Oranges,	12. 0 per 3000.	9,400,000 No.	37,600
Potatoes,	2. 8 per *maund.*	200,500 *maunds.*	501,250
Pine-apples,	...	...	8,000
Stick lac,	20. 0 per *maund.*	5,000 ,,	100,000
Timber, bamboos, and canes,	...	...	30,000
Turmeric,	2. 0 per *maund.*	700 ,,	1,400
Bees-wax,	55. 0 ,,	26 ,,	1,430
Total,	...	...	1,603,530

Text continued from page 238.]

This price is about the same as it was twenty years ago, but the quantity has increased fourfold. The potato was first introduced into the Hills in 1830 by Mr. David Scott, who was then the Governor-General's Agent. 'No greater boon could have been conferred upon the people.' The local trade is entirely in the hands of the Khásiás themselves, and the larger portion of the produce is despatched direct to Calcutta. According to the registration returns of river traffic in Bengal, the export of provisions (including vegetables) from Sylhet in 1876-77 was 123,108 *maunds*, valued at Rs. 369,324, or £36,932, at the rate of Rs. 3 per *maund*.

The export of oranges in 1876-77 was 9,400,000 in number, valued at Rs. 37,600, at the rate of Rs. 12 per 3000. These figures apparently show a great decrease since 1858. At that time Mr. Inglis possessed the entire monopoly of the trade, by means of the leases which he held from the Khási Chiefs of all the valuable groves. The annual produce of his groves was estimated at forty-five millions of oranges, having increased from eleven millions within the

21: Ehrenfels E-4,5 (1950) 1953 AR7 Khasi AR7

on a historical past, different from that of the Khasi proper, the former having been ruled by the powerful, but somewhat Hinduised dynasty of the Jaintia Rajas until the Jaintia Wars of the British; the latter by small independent chiefs. Yet Jaintia social organization appears on the whole to preserve the matrilineal social structure clearer and to be less influenced by plains-acculturation, than that of the Khasi, though a few features of Brahmanical religious observances and also some traces of racial admixture are found in the immediate vicinity of Jowei, the former summer residence of the Jaintia Rajas. Stronger no doubt, than this influence, was that exercised by the British and non-Assamese Indians in the provincial capital Shillong since 1866. Methods of agriculture and other aspects of material civilization differ but little in the Jaintia- and Khasi plateau-areas.

The same cannot be said of both: the Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintias. Linguistically their affiliations are with the Khasi or Jaintias respectively, in the plateau-areas. Economically, however, both Wár-groups form a separate pan-leaf cultivating unit in the little accessible steep southern slopes of the Khasi- and Jaintia Hill massif. Both Wár-groups live in the environment of luscious tropical flora and fauna, sharply differentiated from the cool, barren plateau with its perennial winds and the heroic, if solitary beauty of its highland heaths, which forms the background of both the Khasi- and Jaintia plateau-groups.

The age of the Wár-Khasi and -Jaintias, as one independent economic, — and two half-independent dialectical linguistic entities, is an intricate problem. The two Wár-groups subsist on pan-leaf cultivation as a money crop, grown in the thick tree-gardens as creepers; not on food-cultivation, as do the plateau-groups, because there is insufficient space on the steep slopes, for vegetable gardens or -fields. The pan-leaf cultivators therefore depend on food, purchased from outside. The slopes seem to have been uninhabited until not long ago. Yet pan-leaf chewing is such an integral part of Khasi life, that until quite recently, and occasionally even now, a distance between two places is not measured by the number of hours used for walking, but by the number of betelnut- and pan-leaf packages, consumed on the way. Also the common benediction among Khasi expresses the wish that so and so may eat pan in the Garden of God. Yet pan-cultivation and the settlements of the Wár-people as pan-leaf cultivators in the southern slopes seem comparatively young. Pan-cultivation on the plateau is impracticable. It is therefore possible that pan was for a long time only a much valued import article from the plains, bartered against Khasi ore and iron tools, though it is now an export article from the Wár-country, brought to the markets of the plains, by both Wár-Khasi and Wár-Jaintia women and men.

According to a tradition, across which I came among the Nonglamin clan of the Nongmuker village, the ancestors of the present Wár people were on the plateau at a time when no pan-cultivation was going on in the slopes and none of the present big estates of pan-tree gardens was yet held by their present (Wár-) owners. A not distant ancestor of a Nonglamin clan-member who about two or three generations ago told the story to U Siang (one of

31: Scherman--74 E-4 (no date) 1915 AP1 Burma Burmese AP4 Southeast Asia AL1 Khasi AR7

K 342 generally used follows from a once ruling law which forbade the Khasi the use of nails for house construction as being "sang," i.e. taboo (78). It remains a question whether the Khasi

78. Gurdon, pp. 30 ff. Cf. above, p. 206, fn. 1.

K [177] house with its curved roof form reflects the building style of the Bengali, who also in other respects influenced the customs of the Khasi (79),

79. To be sure the roof ridge of the Bengal hut is evenly curved toward both sides and the entrance is from the broad side. This roof style is a distinctive architectural theme with temples and tombs of Bengal, as Monmohan Chakravarti in "Bengali Temples and Their General Characteristics" Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal 5 (Calcutta, 1909), p. 160 explains in detail. But whether the relation with the Pallava architecture of South India exists, as conjectured here on p. 147, seems to me very doubtful.

or whether the roof, sloping down in front and projecting broadly over the entrance wall must be considered as a modification of the veranda awning of the pile dwellings.

* * *

B S 342 From the numerous types presented above is it somehow possible to prove a homogenous development? /234/ Without vague hypotheses, in view of the inadequacy of the historical sources of the Indochinese ethnographical groups, a line of direction